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3. To assist German seaports in competition with seaports of other countries.
4. To assist German railways subject to competition from foreign streams or watercourses.

The value of the author's work lies not only in its clear statement of the facts of German experience, but also in putting that experience in such a shape that it is readily available for comparative purposes. In treating of the principles underlying classification he lays stress on the value of the "space" system. This he considers to be characterized by unity and simplicity. The "value" system, on the other hand, presents itself to him as a means whereby corporations may impose exorbitant rates. The troubles in connection with discriminations in the earlier period are attributed to the use of the value system. In view of the fact that the reform movements in Germany have simply led to the adoption of the "charging what the traffic will bear" system, although it is called by another name, the author is somewhat *doctrinaire* in relying upon a position which is not upheld by the history he is detailing. On the whole, the author remembers that he is dealing with a self-circumscribed topic. But when he is summing up his investigation he for the moment forgets this; for he diverges into a wider phase of the question of railway policy and concludes that the great advance in simplicity and unity of classification has been attributable to the adoption of a policy of state ownership, which has brought about a socialization of the tariffs.

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Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Darstellung der gewerkschaftlichen Organization der Arbeiter und der Arbeitgeber aller Länder.

VON W. KULEMANN, Landgerichtsrat. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1900. 8vo, pp. xxii + 730.

IT is impossible to judge this work because it is incomplete, and incomplete at that very point at which it lays chief claim to excellence. It is avowedly an argued justification of trade organizations, and it proposes to survey the entire field of such organizations throughout the European world in the search for facts to test the thesis that they are indispensable to the welfare of our industrial life. But the volume before us is hardly more than a collection of facts. It does,

indeed, offer a few *a priori* considerations in support of its conclusion—the growing complexity of industrial relations being suggested as calling for systematic organization of the industrial agents—but unfortunately the argument, as we have it, hardly advances beyond this *a priori* stage, as the author has seen fit to reserve his statement of conclusions for a second volume, promised indefinitely in the future. In this there is occasion not only for regret at the incompleteness of the work, but for complaint that materials have been awkwardly presented. The merit of the work is considerable. It is the most complete account which has yet appeared of the trade unions and kindred societies of all countries. As a descriptive text-book of the whole subject, its 700 pages have great value. Yet for the argumentative purpose, to which the author rightly attaches so much importance, and for the purposes of the general reader, it would have been much better if he had avoided the awkwardness of arrangement which is so common in German books, and had grouped facts about principles. Seven hundred pages of “introduction” is too severe a test of the ordinary man’s patience. Much of this bulk, moreover, is due to needless repetition of the same facts regarding different organizations, which are described successively in ponderous detail, instead of being represented by types with a supplementary reference to variations.

Mr. Kulemann laments very naturally the scarcity of available materials for his work. Every student of trade unions has had occasion to regret that the unions of only one country have been compendiously described in a satisfactory treatise, and that, as for primary sources of information, the records of trade unions, or their publications, are not carefully preserved, so that the history of the movement at the present day is in its details for the most part being permanently lost. Few labor organizations of the United States, for example, can furnish materials for an account of their own history beyond the last few years. The employers’ associations are included in Kulemann’s survey, as a necessary complement to the usefulness of the workmen’s societies, and for these the materials are even more scanty. They are, as Brentano says, “the real secret societies of the present day.” This author’s account of them deals most particularly with those of Germany, which, while their purposes are largely veiled, still seem to conceal their action somewhat less carefully than those of the United States, the militant, anti-labor character being often quite frankly avowed as the German society’s *raison d’être*.

The best-known society of this class in Germany is the Employer's League of Hamburg-Altona, which became noted a few years ago in the dockers' strike. Ostensibly its purpose is "to bring about permanently friendly relations between employers and employees by acceding to the just claims and rejecting the unjust demands of workmen and their unions." It limits itself to dealing with matters which its constituent societies are not so well able to cope with, but forbids them to act independently on subjects of general concern. Thus all essential changes in the conditions under which labor is performed require the approval of the general organization. By its constitution it is bound to labor for the welfare of employees, but also to maintain a systematic black-list against discharged or striking workmen. It excludes workmen from any share in the control of its employment bureau, and its annual report for 1898 relates that it has succeeded in revoking the "ruinous" decision of the bakers' guild in favor of a nine-hour day. The association has been divided—like many others of the German employers' unions—into two aggressively antagonistic factions, one philanthropic and the other "anti-labor." In this case, as so often in Germany and elsewhere, the large firms are the generous firms.

German employers' associations frequently provide for the hearing of complaints by workmen against their employers, the employers being required to submit if the decision is against them. Firms which become involved in strikes are aided by their associates in filling their orders; thus the executive committee of Berlin hardware manufacturers is empowered to call on other shops for 10 per cent. of their working force for this purpose and to fix the price at which such aid is rendered. The fixing of maximum rates of wages is a frequent purpose of these unions. The brewers have associations to protect them not against strikes, but against boycotts (whether by workmen or others), paying their members a compensation according to the diminution in the sale of beer resulting from the boycott. The association of cloth manufacturers of Cottbus is said to be typical for the textile industries. It has an executive committee of thirteen, whose chairman does not belong to the trade. Laborers may report their grievances to the committee and the opinion most favorable to the workmen prevails unless there are eight votes against it. The committee has power to examine the books of any firm. This plan is said to have worked well in the prevention of strikes. The committee has not hesitated in

the settlement of disputes to accept the intervention of outsiders, and even of socialist members of the Reichstag.

The strike insurance society, "*Industria*," undertook to replace losses by strikes, compensation being paid according to the decision of a special commission established for that purpose, but no payment being made where the failure to settle the dispute by conciliation or arbitration was due to the fault of the insured firm. This enterprise was shipwrecked by a quarrel arising from an attempt of the philanthropic faction to establish a system yet more favorable to the workmen. Mr. Kulemann says that the social democrats had feared the rivalry of this device for industrial peace, and that they breathed more freely when it failed. It is said to have been imitated recently in all three Scandinavian kingdoms.

The history of the wages-tariff association of employers and workmen in the German book-printing trade is brought down to a comparatively recent date. The arrangement was revived in 1896, after an interruption of five years, and is said to have worked satisfactorily since then. In November 1896 the number of firms belonging to the association was 895; in September 1898 it had arisen to 2100 firms with about 30,000 employees. A few weeks later this number was increased by 486 firms, the employers having carried on a vigorous agitation for an increase, and even appealed to the workmen to strike against employers who refused to join.

The relations between the employers and workmen in Austria have in certain respects a peculiar interest. The powerful influence of the land-owning class is frequently found on the side of the work-people, in opposition to the manufacturing employers, but the employers in their organizations have at times shown themselves less egoistic than the same class in Germany. The Central Industrial League of Austria, founded in 1892, and including about 30 per cent. of the large establishments of the empire, has demanded the opening of a state labor office to collect labor statistics and combat unemployment by maintaining an employment bureau; it demands that "the labor contract, and in general the relation between employers and workmen shall be placed on a legal basis corresponding to modern ideas, and preventing, so far as possible, the present frequently arbitrary treatment of workmen in regard to wages, methods of payment, dwellings," etc.; it has declared that "industry in its free and natural development tends toward a shortening of the working day," and that the

league "will not hamper this tendency, but on the contrary seek to give it reasonable encouragement." The membership of the league formally express the conviction that "industry does not consist solely of employers," and that they must recognize the duties inseparable from their rights. The Industrial Club, which is closely related to the league, has formally declared itself in favor of universal suffrage, and also of a system of laborer's representative committees, which are said to be necessary in view of the growing estrangement between employers and workmen. The possibility that these committees may take the lead in strikes is recognized with complacency. Those who are so minded may find material for interesting speculations in this exuberant show of benevolence among employers in the first nation of largely slavic composition to attain any considerable industrial development. It must be noted, however, that other Austrian employers' societies have exhibited a different temper.

The peculiar economic condition of Switzerland gave rise to a curious organization in the embroidery industry about St. Gall. This work is carried on for the most part by a system of domestic manufacture, only a fraction of the work being done in factories. A large part of the product passes from the embroiderer to the merchant at the towns through a class of middlemen called *Fergger*, who visit the scattered cottages to purchase their goods. These intermediaries, from want of technical knowledge or for other reasons, were incapable of making terms with the merchants, whose prices they accepted helplessly, recouping themselves by making severe terms with the cottagers, much as the sweaters in our cities oppress their employees because of their inability to serve as a buffer between these employees and their capitalist customers. Not only the embroiderers, but all others concerned in the trade were said to suffer from overproduction following the introduction of machinery. To combat these evils an association was formed which included merchants, *Fergger*, manufacturers, and isolated embroiderers—in fact, all persons concerned in the industry except the few employees in the factories. Of those entitled to become members all but $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. did so, being compelled by the threat of boycott on the part of all the other groups. They decreased production by limiting the day's work to eleven hours. They also fixed a minimum rate of wages—the merchants finding their advantage in this because they were now protected against the competition of a class of sweaters whose victims were especially

low-paid, and because, with a fixed schedule of wages, they could make their calculations in advance more securely. The *Ferger* were reduced to the position of agents, receiving a fixed commission, and their exactions were otherwise curtailed. The association undertook the establishment of technical schools. It attempted to protect the Swiss industry against foreign (especially American) competition by purchasing the patent on an American steam embroidering machine, after which all the old machinery was to be bought up and destroyed. This heroic effort at the defense of a national industry failed. The subscription for the patent was never completed. The McKinley tariff law broke down the minimum wages scale, and the association went to pieces in 1892. A new organization is said to have been formed recently.

A. P. WINSTON.

A Country without Strikes. By H. D. LLOYD. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1900. 8vo, pp. 183.

FROM every point of view it seems desirable to find some substitute for the present costly and militant methods of settling disputes between business managers and employees. Economically the waste of capital and of vital energy is irrational, and higher considerations of humanity and culture deserve to be weighed. The French *Conseils de prud'hommes* have been useful in deciding disputes on the interpretation of contracts, but they leave the vital matter of the wage rate untouched. The various schemes of voluntary arbitration have served a good purpose, but they break down precisely where arbitration is most needed, where there is a radical difference of judgment, or where one party is obstinate and finds "nothing to arbitrate."

Mr. Lloyd visited New Zealand to study the working of the system of compulsory arbitration by a special court. His report is enthusiastic and optimistic, and in style is lucid and readable. Objections will be showered on his findings. It will be said that the experiment is too short to yield conclusions; that New Zealand is too small a country to set an example to a great nation, with complicated interests; that compulsory arbitration would drive capital out of the country or cripple its efficiency; and that it does not suit the dignity of capitalists to come into court at the demand of their "servants."